

SOCIAL SCIENCES J

NATIONAL REVIEW



20 Cents

July 27, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

They Spoke for Christian Europe

RAFAEL CALVO-SERER

Private Enterprise Provides Foreign Aid

FRANK CHODOROV

Voice of the South

SAM M. JONES

Articles and Reviews by MAX EASTMAN
JAMES BURNHAM • WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM • FRANK S. MEYER
L. BRENT BOZELL • ANTHONY LEJEUNE • WILLMOORE KENDALL

For the Record

An informed source has disclosed that Attorney-General Brownell plans to run against Averell Harriman in the 1958 New York gubernatorial election and that Congressman Adam Clayton Powell will try to swing the Negro vote to him....Senator Estes Kefauver's attendance record in the Senate—particularly when bills are up which affect Tennessee—has dramatically improved since word got out that Governor Frank Clement has chosen to run against him in 1960 rather than against Senator Albert Gore in 1958....When, next September, Rep. Samuel McConnell resigns from Congress, Rep. Ralph Gwinn—long under fire from the AFL-CIO—will become the ranking Republican member of the House Labor Committee.

Weather and the soil bank program will depress crop production to the lowest level since 1951. Prices average 3 per cent higher than this time last year, but the low volume of marketing may bar a significant increase in farm income....The Small Business Administration more than doubled its business loan activity in the first ten months of fiscal 1957....Though production remains high, retail sales fell 5 per cent from May to June—3 per cent more than the regular seasonal decline.

A federal prosecuting attorney at the trial of sixteen segregationists in Knoxville cut off a portion of an FBI report which he deemed confidential before turning it over to the defense—as required by the Jencks decision.

Since February 1955, Communist China has completed 27 major jet air strips of which seven are within an average range of 150 miles of Taiwan....Admiral Arleigh Burke, United States Chief of Naval Operations, estimates that the Soviet Union—which has a submarine fleet of 450—has built more submarines in the past year than the United States since World War II.

The Gallup Poll reports that American public opinion is overwhelmingly in favor of granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii....Addressing workers at Poznan, Gomulka blamed the "very modest" American aid for his government's inability to raise wages....The Philippine government demands that an American who, while a sailor, was indicted for reckless driving, be returned to stand trial under Philippine law.

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS

L. Brent Bozell James Burnham
John Chamberlain Willmoore Kendall
Suzanne La Follette William S. Schlammm
PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT: Sam M. Jones

ASSOCIATES

Priscilla L. Buckley Frank S. Meyer
Jonathan Mitchell Morrie Ryskind

CONTRIBUTORS

C. D. Batchelor, John C. Caldwell, Frank Chodorov, John Abbot Clark, Forrest Davis, A. Derso, Max Eastman, Medford Evans, Karl Hess, John D. Kreuttner, J. B. Matthews, Gerhart Niemeyer, Revilo Oliver, E. Merrill Root, Freda Utley, Richard M. Weaver, Gen. Charles A. Willoughby

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

London: Anthony Lejeune
Geneva: Wilhelm Roepke Madrid: J. Dervin
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

CONTENTS JULY 27, 1957 VOL. IV, NO. 5

THE WEEK 99

ARTICLES

Voice of the South Sam M. Jones 105
They Spoke for Christian Europe
Rafael Calvo-Serer 109
Private Enterprise Provides Foreign Aid
Frank Chodorov 111

DEPARTMENTS

For the Record 98
National Trends L. Brent Bozell 104
The Third World War James Burnham 107
The Liberal Line Willmoore Kendall 108
Letter from London Anthony Lejeune 110
Principles and Heresies Frank S. Meyer 113
Arts and Manners William S. Schlammm 114
To the Editor 118

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Re Dogs and Men Max Eastman 115
"A Very Good Book" Russell Kirk 116
Here Is a Man Revilo Oliver 117
An Air-Age Ago Montgomery M. Green 117
Had Wonderful Time J. P. McFadden 117

VERSE

My Malenkoy Baby Johannes Eff 106

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except second and third weeks in August, at Orange, Conn., by National Weekly, Inc. Copyrighted 1957 in the U.S.A. by National Weekly, Inc. Second-class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.

EDITORIAL AND SUBSCRIPTION OFFICES:

211 East 37th St.
New York 16, N. Y.
Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-0941

RATES, Twenty cents a copy, \$7.00 a year, \$13.00 for two years. Foreign, \$9.00 a year; Canada, \$8.00 a year.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

The WEEK

● About the only thing officials of the Soviet Union and the United States appeared to agree upon last week was the intellectual deficiencies of Mr. Eisenhower, called "stupid" by Comrade Khrushchev, and "brainless" by Senator Kerr. NATIONAL REVIEW agrees with Senator Capehart that Senator Kerr should be "ashamed" of his remark about the President's not having any "brains" in fiscal affairs. It involves one of those matters in which the interests of truth should, clearly, be subordinated to those of good manners. And in so far as it implies that the President is less brainy about fiscal problems than about problems-in-general, its effect can only be to inculcate upon the nation a false sense of security.

● Bulletin: Senator Kerr has now decided that who *really* has no brains is Senator Capehart. Which leaves us trying to remember: which side were they on when the phrase was "brains or guts," and the speaker was Joe McCarthy, and the issue whether the dignity of the Senate had been compromised?

● Mr. Harold Stassen's obsession with arriving at an agreement with the Communists on disarmament appears to be crowding out of his mind, and others', the question whether we *want* disarmament on just any terms. NATIONAL REVIEW's position, to be sure, is rather inflexible on the subject: we would ask, in return for disarmament, 1) liberation of the satellite nations, 2) dismantlement of the international Soviet apparatus, 3) decimation of the Soviet Army, and 4) free elections in the Soviet Union. Mr. Stassen would shrink from these impieties, but his enthusiasm has led him a) to countermand, in effect, President Eisenhower's insistence throughout his first term in office that there would be no talk of disarmament before Germany was reunified; and b) to consent in principle to the Soviet demand that there be first a suspension of nuclear detonations, and only after that discussion of international inspection methods. His enthusiasm, in short, looms as a Western liability in a class with Soviet guns.

● Mr. Percival F. Brundage, the sometimes sleepy watchdog of the Budget, thinks it a good "guess" that the Administration can save about a billion dollars by practising economy in the current fiscal year. Well, we'll believe it when we see it; after all, it wasn't so very long ago that a Delaware Senator tried to return some unspent money to the Treasury and

was told that he couldn't do it unless he wanted to treat the sum as a "gift" to the government out of taxable personal income. If Mr. Brundage really wants to make hay, we refer him to an idea recently propounded by an organization called Free Capitalism, Inc., of 15 Lewis Street, Hartford, Connecticut. Says Free Capitalism, Inc., in a "simple tax letter" addressed to Senator Byrd: "Give government employees an incentive to save our tax dollars—an incentive payable from and in proportion to the total of the unspent portions of appropriations returned to the Treasury." That's the most practical economy idea we've heard in a long time. It would surely work for a year or so—or until some ingenious bureau head started padding his appropriation demands merely to provide himself with some money to be saved for personal profit.

● An all-white jury is hearing the Clinton contempt-of-court case, so that—no matter what the verdict—the Liberals will win that one too. Let the defendants be acquitted, and they will be able to say that the jury was obviously rigged. Let the defendants be guilty, and the juggernaut can roll on.

● American intelligence sources, contradicting estimates that have been given widespread publicity during recent months, hold that this country is well ahead of the Soviet Union in missile development. The principal Soviet concentration is apparently on missiles with a six hundred mile range, designed not so much for use as for political blackmail against Western Europe. They are still some years away from the operational development of a true intercontinental ballistics missile that could be used as a vehicle for bombing United States home territory.

● The bitter-left *Nation*, which ought to know, puts it about as well as it needs be put: "Now, in its weakened condition, the political inquisition [the internal security program, of course] has received a blow from which it may never recover. The Supreme Court, in the Watkins and Sweezy cases, declared that the procedures the inquisitors have been pursuing [sic] for years have been illegal all along. And it made unmistakably clear . . . that the very concept . . . of the political committees [is] in violation of the constitutional rights of citizens." (Italics ours) The *Nation* is clearly qualified to ghost-write for the Court.

● At Pugwash, Nova Scotia, a covey of the world's scientific elite, nuclear physicists from Communist and free nations, have met under one of the many roofs of Mr. Cyrus Stephen Eaton, to agitate for a) peace, b) suspension of nuclear development and c) a centralized political force "capable of keeping the

peace." We'll settle for the points if they will agree to call the resulting document the Pugwash Petition.

● The 1960 Winter Olympics are scheduled to take place at Squaw Valley, California. Mr. Avery Brundage, director of the International Olympic Committee, now serves notice that unless the United States invites Red China and Bulgaria, whose governments are not recognized by our own, to participate, the Winter Olympics will be held elsewhere. Mr. Brundage is trafficking in raw blackmail, of course. We trust that the national passion for sports will not compel the State Department to subordinate to athletics the moral and political considerations that led to our refusal to recognize Red China and Bulgaria. Worse things have happened to us than the loss of the Olympic games to another country. Let the residents of Squaw Valley be good sports about it, in the best Olympic tradition.

● There are no situations, wrote Lenin, from which there is no way out. Similarly, there are no questions that can't be so stated as to get a desired answer; and Dr. Gallup has at last found a way of stating the one about a ceiling on Federal income taxes that gets 68 per cent of the "respondents" to say they are against it. The trick? Why, state the question so that the respondent must choose between the proposed ceiling and "other kinds of taxes," unspecified of course, that would have to be levied in order for the government to recoup the money it would lose. The implicit propaganda theme? People favor the ceiling not out of a sense of justice, but out of ignorance. The remedy? Get Dr. Gallup on "Meet the Press" and force him, at the point of a gun if need be, to say once and for all whether he has stopped beating his wife.

● The United Auto Workers have granted a four-day, twenty-eight-hour work week without a pay cut to women employees in Local 15 in Detroit. Says Mr. Cervelli, president of the Local: "We figured there is no place like home to start. After all, we're going to be asking the auto companies for a shorter work week with no cut in pay in 1958." What Mr. Cervelli did not say is that the four-day work week for union employees comes out of union dues, which are paid by the auto workers. Nor did he say that doing a little for a lot is just an old union custom; after all, Dave Beck got a century's pay from his union for doing a half-hour's work. The UAW, unlike the automobile manufacturers, does not have to compete either with other unions or, thanks to the union shop, with no unions. The executives simply levy, and the workers, if they want to hold on to their jobs, pay. Mr. Cervelli has not proved anything about economics except that it is a science about which he knows nothing.

● Continuing the remarkable postwar progress that has made it the showplace of Asia, Formosa last year reached a new high in national income and production: 794,000 metric tons of sugar, the main export product, were grown; 18,000 factories were in operation, including a new assembly plant for jeeps. The first Formosan electric refrigerator was assembled last month in a factory built with Japanese cooperation. In May exports valued at \$15 million were twice the value of imports (exclusive of U.S. special aid). Three new plants opening this autumn will triple the production of fertilizer.

● When Mao Tse-tung, last February, encouraged all the critical flowers to bloom in his Chinese Communist garden, he neglected to add what he intended to do with them once they opened their petals. Last week he began the second part of his horticultural lesson by lopping off the ideological heads of the blooms that had thrust their stems up highest. And Fei Hsiao-tung, Chu An-ping, Gen. Lung Yun, Lo Lung-chi and a number of others, abjectly confessing that their critical remarks concerning the regime were traitorous falsehoods, fervently hoped that a pruning of ideological heads would be enough, this time, to satisfy their impatient gardener.

● Somebody, it seems, is always saying something about Goa that Mr. Nehru doesn't like. Now it is Archbishop Jose Veira Alvernaz, Patriarch of the Indies, who insists that 1) Nehru has in his power 50,000 Goanese who happen to have gone to India to seek employment, 2) Nehru refuses to let them go home, even for a visit, 3) Nehru strikes at them because Goa is the "living proof" that the Welfare State is an unnecessary and in any case self-defeating luxury, and 4) the UN should look into the matter. We think it should too.

● If East German Communists are setting a precedent, the weather will henceforward be depoliticalized. Last week East Germany's top woman radio commentator, Fraulein Inge Bartels, was told off by the weekly *Eulenspiegel* for promoting a dialectical view of the weather. If we grasp the meaning of this, it is surely that henceforward floods, droughts and typhoons occurring in the Communist world will not be attributed to the malice of bourgeois meteorologists. And so the tensions ease.

● U.S. Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson and Communist Chinese Ambassador Wang Pang-nan have now held their 68th conference about the Americans languishing in Chinese jails, and have scheduled their 69th conference. Results to date: none. The one apparent hope for termination of the conference: neither Excellency is getting any younger.

Report from the Publisher

I take the greatest pleasure, personal and professional, in announcing, in behalf of National Weekly, Inc., the appointment of Mr. William A. Rusher as my successor as Publisher of NATIONAL REVIEW. The appointment has the objective of endowing NATIONAL REVIEW with a full-time publisher. Mr. Rusher is best introduced to you in his own words.

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR., Editor

"The unexamined life," said Socrates, "is not worth living." This is as true for nations—and magazines—as for individuals. Let me, then, on assuming the post of Publisher of NATIONAL REVIEW, say a word about life in our times, and NATIONAL REVIEW's role in relation to it.

Whittaker Chambers has eloquently described the heart of the Communist faith: "... Like all great faiths, its force derives from vision. . . . It is the vision of man's mind displacing God as the creative intelligence of the world . . . of man's liberated mind redirecting man's destiny and reorganizing man's life and the world."

Communism, in short, is simply the most recent and most comprehensive expression of the purely materialistic concept of the world and of man's nature. And if we rarely note the fact, it is because we fear that by condemning materialism we would condemn much that we recognize in our society.

Materialism is at once the characteristic quality and the basic vice of the modern era. No nation has resisted its lure. Everywhere the material appetites of men have been whetted. And universal suffrage has insured that those appetites shall be satisfied as far as possible.

With the second World War and its aftermath, with, above all, the emergence of the Soviet Union, the trend has finally been reversed. By the early 1950's, the Liberal Establishment had perceptibly passed the peak of its ascendancy. It had been reduced, programmatically, to sheer exploitation of social and economic antagonisms. It clearly had no remedy to propose against the steady advance of Communist dogma, and no sensible criticism to make of it—for the very good reason that it shares Communism's materialist premises.

There came a moment when one could, indeed, hope that America at last had turned its back on materialism and its consequences. Our attitude toward Communism radically stiffened. We met the Communist attack on South Korea with resolute force. We made a great convulsive effort to rid ourselves of our Communist and crypto-Communist parasites.

But then America faltered, unsure of itself. As Wolcott Gibbs once said of a bad play, "a sort of creeping paralysis set in, which turned out to be the

plot." On the pivotal issue of subversion, the Center made its peace with the Left at the expense of the truth. Today any politician in America will privately admit it is safer to have been a Communist or a fellow-traveler than to denounce one. Internationally, the "Geneva Spirit" inaugurated a vast new campaign to bring about the psychological disarmament of the West. Expansion of trade through the Iron Curtain became an obsession with Liberals, who had never previously displayed any great concern over business profits, and every Iowa cornfield seemed to bulge with Soviet agricultural experts admiring the height of the stalks.

What is the explanation? Have we forgotten that our disagreement with Communism is no mere "misunderstanding," to be ironed out with Khrushchev some Sunday on TV? Have we by adopting his materialist premises lost our capacity to defy him as a matter of principle, so that we can only haggle over the loot and the slaves?

I do not believe it. The title deeds to America have not been given away; they are merely in escrow until the true heirs can be identified.

That is where NATIONAL REVIEW comes in. No one will agree with everything it prints—certainly not the editors, who have zestfully disagreed among themselves. But it addresses itself, with stubborn determination week by week, to those fundamental questions whose answers must ultimately shape the destiny of mankind. On its success, therefore, much depends.

On the general outcome of the struggle, I am optimistic. Disraeli remarked that prevailing ideas are usually the ideas of the age that is passing. The contest between the spiritual and material concepts of man's nature has been going on since men began to talk. Time and again a highly materialistic age has been followed by one in which men experience a fresh perception of their relationship to God, and hence to society and to each other. Our own materially creative age will be followed by one in which men learn again, with Emerson, that "nothing can bring you peace but the triumph of principles."

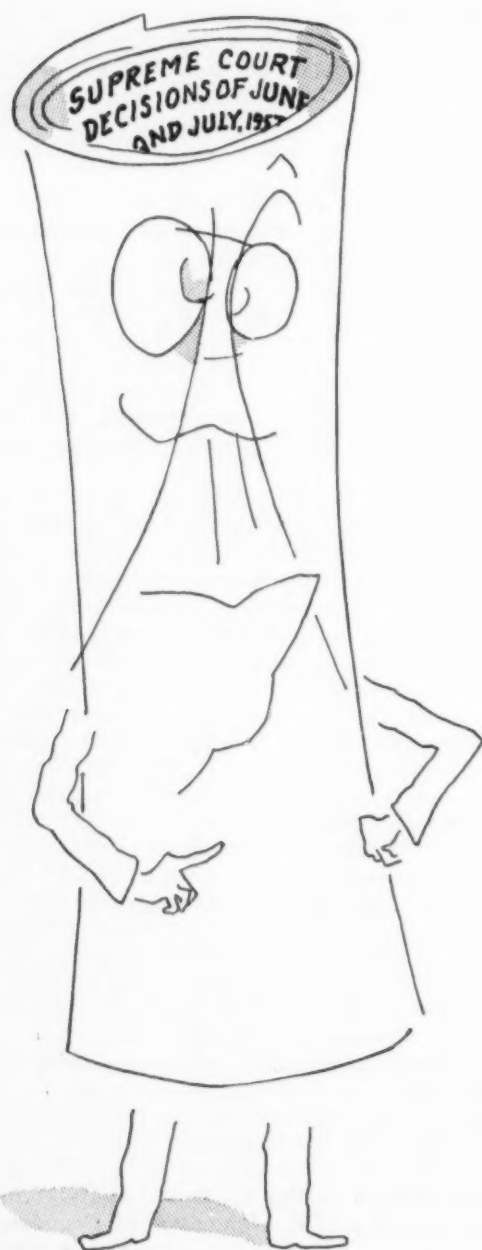
When that day comes, there will be no need for heroic efforts to recapture the schools, or the press, or the government. "Nothing in the world," Hugo observed, "is as powerful as an idea whose time has come." That day is almost here. It hovers just below the horizon of our vision. Technological achievements and the peacetime uses of atomic energy will shortly destroy the material appeal of the Communists, and their country cousins the Liberals.

To eschew easy victories today; to insist upon principle at home and abroad; to encourage the development of more profound insights in men's minds; to bring into being, on tested foundations, a society consonant with those insights—that is the task of those who believe in the spiritual nature of man. It is a task worthy of the inheritors of America.

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

Reasons of State

The Liberals have got what they went after in the Girard case, and in just the way they like to get the things they go after nowadays—namely, by fiat of the United States Supreme Court. Girard will be tried by a Japanese court. There is no “constitutional or statutory barrier” to the Administration’s waiving jurisdiction in such a case to a foreign government. The status of forces treaties are safe; American troops now stationed abroad will not, after all, have to be withdrawn (as the Administration had impudently



Kreuttner

“What we’re really trying to tell you is that the Constitution (and these differences are subtle and sometimes difficult to grasp) is unconstitutional!”

contended they would have to be were the treaties nullified). Girard, far from suffering any disadvantage, will (we are told) be more leniently treated than ever he would have been by an American court martial (the Japanese government will see to it, the *New York Times* assures us). The decision (says the *Times*) is “a triumph for the Administration.”

We view it differently.

In 1789 our political Fathers, having successfully revolted from one government that they believed endangered their lives, liberty and happiness, devised another to further those ends. They set up a government, with defined function and limited scope, as a useful servant to aid them in the free, safe, successful and happy conduct of their private lives.

In the Girard case the executive department of our government declared, and the judicial department underwrote, that the private liberty and life of a citizen may as a normal matter of course, without any restriction derived from the original compact, without even the compelling excuse of wartime crises, be sacrificed to the convenience of the government. This is the real meaning of the Girard decision: a reversal in the relation between man and the state.

Indeed, the government advanced no argument of substance, other than its own convenience, for turning Girard over to Japanese jurisdiction. (See Mr. Bozell’s column, below.) After early equivocation, it was stipulated that Girard was in fact on duty when the disputed incident occurred.

Girard is nobody, of course: nobody in particular, that is. He isn’t even a Communist or a Negro or a refugee. For the Japanese government also, William Girard is a faceless pawn in its game.

It is just because Girard is nobody, and thus everybody, that his case is so valid as historical symptom. In its final implication the decision in the Girard case demonstrates with mathematical coolness: man is made for the State. Q.E.D. Quite possibly the legal reasoning was impeccable. Maybe we have entered an era wherein this is simply the way it has got to be. But if so, let’s not fool ourselves about the nature of the change and the depth of the tragedy.

Pouf! No Profits!

Senator Estes Kefauver’s Anti-trust and Monopoly Subcommittee, which is currently conducting an inquiry into the pricing policies of American business, seems hell-bent on proving that recent inflationary rises have little to do with either an excess in the money supply or the “wage-push” on the part of labor. The subcommittee’s idea, at least as it is revealed in the line of questioning followed by some of its members, is that inflation happens merely because business, quite arbitrarily, charges too much.

The corporate executives of a dominant company in a given industry supposedly "set" prices where they want them to be—and, pouf!, up go the prices, and inflation marches on.

We hope Senator Kefauver will call representatives of the brass industry in Waterbury, Connecticut. Last year the Waterbury brass companies "set" prices—and pouf!, the customers stayed home. So prices were dropped. They were dropped within the context of both labor costs and the extent of the money supply, which leaves us right where we were before Senator Kefauver put his bloodhounds to work. The moral is that you can inflate by increasing the costs of doing business or by increasing the money supply by more than the increase in production. But you can't, in a competitive economy, inflate by charging people more than they are willing to pay.

Death of a Friend

Although the Aga Khan lived much in the West, he was a figure difficult for the Western mind to comprehend. In outer surface he was one, and one of the most conspicuous, of that sybaritic group of vacuous cosmopolitans whom society columnists refer to as "the international set." He surrounded himself with all the usual paraphernalia of expensive hedonism; beautiful women, fast horses, large villas, scores of servants, modish works of art, scandalous children.

But to millions of devout followers in many lands the Aga Khan was spiritual leader and Imam, direct descendant of the prophet through his daughter Fatima, rightful holder of the Caliphate. The Aga Khan was unchallenged head of the Isma'il sect, the esoteric community that once gave birth to the reality and name of "Assassins," as well as to the twelfth century Omar Khayyam who wrote the *Rubaiyat* that Edward Fitzgerald made so well known to the English speaking world.

The Isma'ili belong to the lesser of the two great divisions of Islam, the Shi'ah. There are Shi'ites in all Moslem nations, but their primary distribution is noteworthy for other than religious reasons. The Shi'ah prevails in Iran, and is powerful in Iraq, Yemen, Pakistan, Lebanon and parts of East Africa: the Islamic countries, namely, with which the nations of the West have had on the whole the most successful economic and political relations. Except for Turkey (which comes out of a special history), the other (Sunni) division of Islam is dominated by Egypt—where, by an ancient paradox, the Aga Khan is to be buried in a week-long ceremony, at Noor el Salaam on the banks of the Nile.

Whether or not this partial correlation between theology and politics is mere coincidence, it is a fact—obscured but not destroyed by his Riviera and race

course antics—that the Aga Khan was throughout his career a good friend to the West. As first President of the Moslem League he worked for a moderate, constructive solution of India's evolution toward independence. He stood with the Atlantic allies in both world wars, and in World War I had a considerable part in keeping the Middle East from following Turkey into the German camp. He served with propriety as President of the League of Nations. On both religious and political grounds he was a firm opponent of Communism and of Soviet imperial expansion.

In the present struggle for the Middle East the point of view of the Isma'il Imam is a factor of some weight and relevance. And it may prove unexpectedly important for the West whether a Shi'ite admixture continues to temper the African spread of Islam that is now being so fiercely pushed by Cairo-trained, Communist-tainted Sunni missionaries.

Let us hope then that the new Aga Khan, plucked by a surprise testament from Harvard's senior class, will model his politics, if not his amusements, on his grandfather's example.

We are gratified by the response to James Burnham's call for a congressional investigation of the Supreme Court. We have received letters from a number of senators who have expressed a serious interest in the project, as have several newspapers around the country. Mr. John O'Donnell, of the widely read N.Y. *Daily News*, greets the proposal with "warm approval"—suggesting such an investigation as a desirable substitute for the "wild and whirling words about impeachments etc." now making the rounds of Congress.

Our Contributors: WILLIAM A. RUSHER ("Report from the Publisher") is a graduate of Princeton (1944) and the Harvard Law School (1948). He served during the War in the Air Force. After graduating from Harvard he joined the law firm of Shearman and Sterling and Wright in New York. In 1955, on leave of absence from his firm, he was Special Counsel for the Finance Committee of the New York State Senate. In 1956 he went to Washington to serve as Associate Counsel to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. . . . RAFAEL CALVO-SERER ("They Spoke for Christian Europe") is a young professor of political philosophy at the University of Madrid and publisher of a fine library of conservative classics. Despite his having published severe criticisms of the Franco regime in the German and French press, he remains a power in Spanish politics. . . . FRANK CHODOROV ("Private Enterprise Provides Foreign Aid") is associate editor of *Human Events* and former editor of the *Freeman*.

NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

Girard v. the Establishment

"... we reject the idea that when the United States acts against citizens abroad, it can do so free of the Bill of Rights. The United States is entirely a creature of the Constitution. . . . It can act only in accordance with all the limitations imposed by the Constitution. When the Government reaches out to punish a citizen who is abroad, the shield which the Bill of Rights and other parts of the Constitution provides to protect his life and liberty should not be stripped away just because he happens to be in another land."

Majority opinion of the Supreme Court in *Reid v. Covert*, decided June 10, 1957

The first part of wisdom in trying to understand recent Supreme Court decisions is to realize that the Warren Court is a political Court. Its controlling purpose is to give legal sanction, wherever possible, to the political judgments of the Establishment. The Establishment decided it was high time to end racial segregation in the South. The Court responded with *Brown* and sister cases. The Establishment decided that Bigness in industry is evil *per se*. The Court obliged with *du Pont*. The Establishment concluded that Communists are an insignificant, if noisy, group of political dissidents, that the country went overboard in trying to protect itself against them. The Court served up *Nelson*, *Slochower*, *Cole*, *Jencks*, *Watkins* and *Yates*. The Establishment, on the recommendation of its agents in the Executive Department, decreed that U.S. foreign policy would go to pot unless William Girard were tried by a Japanese court. As with all the other cases, the Supreme Court produced the desired end by running roughshod over the Constitution, valid legislative enactments and its own judicial precedents.

It is becoming tiresome, I admit, to characterize each new Supreme Court decision as "the worst yet," etc. Consider, however, the facts of the Girard situation.

1. The Constitution provides that Congress shall have power to "make rules for the government and regula-

tion of the land and naval forces." The Constitution, moreover, guarantees to criminal defendants a host of substantive and procedural rights—some of them specifically enumerated in the Bill of Rights, others incorporated by tradition in the concept of "due process."

2. Congress has provided in the Uniform Code of Military Justice that offenses committed by members of the U.S. armed forces in the performance of official duty shall be tried by U.S. courts martial; it has established rules for such trials that, for military personnel, meet the requirements of due process.

3. A member of the U.S. overseas Army killed a Japanese woman on a U.S. military reservation. Although our civilian authorities engaged in some hanky-panky on the question whether Girard was acting in the line of duty, the Government stipulated in the U.S. District Court that "the incident arose out of an act or omission done by [Girard] . . . in the performance of official duty."

4. Japan insisted that Girard be tried by Japanese courts. Pursuant to a treaty¹ between this country and Japan, the President waived U.S. jurisdiction and agreed to deliver Girard to the Japanese.

The basic question for U.S. courts was, therefore: Is a treaty which conflicts with the Constitution, and with legislation enacted pursuant to the Constitution, valid?

A month, to the day, before it ruled on the *Girard* case, the Supreme Court decided another case involving the constitutional rights of U.S. citizens who commit crimes abroad. In *Reid v. Covert* the wife of an Army officer stationed in England had killed

¹Girard's lawyers hotly denied that the agreement authorizing a waiver of jurisdiction was, in fact, a treaty; while they may be right, I shall assume, for purposes of this analysis, that the Supreme Court was correct in giving the agreement the force of a full-fledged treaty.

her husband, and had been convicted of murder by a U.S. court martial. The military court had taken jurisdiction under an act of Congress providing that crimes committed abroad by dependents of military personnel be tried by courts martial, and a treaty with England confirming the arrangement in Great Britain. The Supreme Court reversed the conviction on the ground that Mrs. Covert's constitutional right to be tried by a U.S. civilian court had been violated. Since the Constitution protects U.S. citizens wherever they are, Justice Black wrote (see above), neither the act of Congress nor the treaty with England could be enforced. Black dealt at length with the treaty issue, concluding with these words: ". . . no agreement with a foreign nation can confer power on the Congress, or on any other branch of government, which is free from the restraints of the Constitution . . . This Court has regularly and uniformly [sic] recognized the supremacy of the Constitution over a treaty."

When the *Girard* case came before the U.S. District Court a few days later, Judge McGarraghy—mindful of the Supreme Court's *Covert* decision—gave short shrift to the Government's claim that a refusal to deliver up Girard would imperil our relations with Japan. The high Court had, after all, heard much the same argument in *Covert*, and Justice Black had retorted: "If our foreign commitments become of such a nature that the Government can no longer operate within the bounds of the Constitution, that instrument can be amended by the method it provides." McGarraghy, accordingly, pointed out how Girard's constitutional rights had been violated, and ruled that he must be tried by U.S. court martial.

Without batting an eye, the Supreme Court reversed. The *per curiam* opinion devoted not one word to a rebuttal of McGarraghy's argument, or to the question of Girard's rights or to the *Covert* decision. Confronted with the Establishment's judgment that Japanese public opinion must be appeased, the Court simply traced the background of the waiver provision, held it had been authorized by a treaty—then observed, peremptorily: "We find no Constitutional or statutory barrier to the provision as applied here."

Voice of the South

Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, leader of the Southern opposition in the Senate to the Administration's Civil Rights bill, discusses some of the issues he believes are involved in that bill, in an interview with our Washington correspondent

SAM M. JONES

Q. Have you any estimate, Senator Russell, as to the probable duration of the debate on the Civil Rights bill?

A. It is impossible for me to say, Mr. Jones. It will either continue until we defeat the bill, or until gag-rule is applied.

Q. Do you think the proponents have enough votes to invoke cloture?

A. I think that would depend somewhat on the scope of the bill at the time the cloture petition is filed. I doubt very seriously that the Senate of the United States would approve the bill in its present very drastic form. I may be wrong in my estimate of the situation, but I can't conceive of 64 Senators voting to impose cloture so long as the bill remains in that form.

Q. There have been rumors that the White House might welcome a compromise. Will you comment on that, Senator?

A. It is difficult for me to conceive, Mr. Jones, of a compromise that I could support, because I am an ingrained States-Righter by inheritance, indoctrination, choice and belief. And I believe in the Constitution. The Constitution means what it says. I think it would be quite a job to amend this bill so that it would conform to the Constitution.

Q. Senator, regardless of whether the pending Civil Rights bill passes or fails, does it provide any real solution to the racial problem?

A. The primary problem is not racial. Not only the South but the entire country today is menaced by the constant attack on our fundamental law and our system of government. This is the primary problem.

Congress is supposed to write the laws. But now we find the Supreme Court is writing more law than the Congress. It has consistently invaded

the congressional domain. There is great concern throughout the nation because the recent decisions of the Court are legislative rather than judicial and the Court is beyond the reach of the voters of the country. It has handed down decisions that strike down the laws of states and of local units of government. The Court's decision in the school case in New York where it held that an employee cannot be discharged for invoking the Fifth Amendment is but one example. Another usurpation involved a statute of the State of Pennsylvania. The recent decisions regarding Communism were not cases that originated in the South.

I think there is a general awareness throughout the country of the danger of this usurpation of power by the Supreme Court. Certainly, the people know that the peril will increase unless we have reached that calamitous stage in our history which other nations reached when they became too fat and lazy and complacent to govern themselves.

Progress in the South

Q. To return to the specific issue of the Civil Rights bill, do you feel there is any real solution to the racial problem by legislation or judicial decree?

A. All human history teaches us that problems of this nature must be solved by evolution and not by revolution. It has been about ninety-two years now since the War Between the States. That's an awful long time in the life of a person but a very short interval in the life of a nation or the development of a great civilization. The progress that has been made in the South through the evolution of mutual understanding during

this period is without parallel in history. There is no other place in the world where the Negro has achieved so much as he has in the South. We hear a great deal about social equality outside the South but it is superficial, if not hypocritical. The average white man or woman in the North is no more willing to fraternize with Negroes, invite them to their homes, or encourage their children to marry into the colored race than are the people of the South. Economically, the North has provided the Negro with the illusion of equality but the plight of the average Negro in the great cities of New York, Chicago and Washington discloses the ironic and tragic falsity of the illusion.

By contrast, Atlanta, Georgia, a segregated city, not only has an imposing number of Negro millionaires, but many thousands of colored people who have achieved comfortable economic status, who have been well-educated, who have earned self-respect and the respect of the white citizens.

You can go to any state in the Union today and you will find people, white and colored, who, to use the current cant, are "underprivileged." We have not achieved perfection nor Utopia, but America has made amazing progress in that direction, and the South rose from the ashes of a devastating war and a demoralizing period of "reconstruction" to make its own great contributions to a better future.

Q. In your recent Senate speech you referred to the Civil Rights bill as "the most cunningly devised and contrived piece of legislation" that you had ever seen and compared it to laws passed by the Reconstruction Congress, which you said "put black

heels on white necks." Do the people of the South fear political domination by the Negro or miscegenation or both?

A. Both. As you know, Mr. Jones, there are some communities and some states where the Negro's voting potential is very great. We wish at all costs to avoid a repetition of the Reconstruction period when newly-freed slaves made the laws and undertook their enforcement. We feel even more strongly about miscegenation or racial amalgamation.

The experience of other countries and civilizations has demonstrated that the separation of the races biologically is highly preferable to amalgamation.

I know of nothing in human history that would lead us to conclude that miscegenation is desirable.

School Integration

Q. Do you believe that school integration would be a step toward mass miscegenation in the South?

A. Yes, a long insidious step toward it. But that is not all. As you know, Mr. Jones, the public schools of the nation's capital have had some sad experiences since integration was forced upon the people of the District of Columbia. Scholastic achievement has declined sharply, juvenile delinquency has increased enormously and the authorities have found it necessary to abandon practically all of the social activities which were a normal collateral aspect of school life, in both white and Negro schools prior to desegregation.

Q. As I understand it, Senator, the Civil Rights bill is directly related to school integration, and to certain decisions of the Supreme Court. Do you feel that it represents a further trespass on the civil rights of the white citizens of the South?

A. Let me answer your question in this way, Mr. Jones. First, the Southern white people feel very deeply that they have been misrepresented. They feel that they have dealt with the gravest racial problem in this country fairly and that they have made great sacrifices in so doing.

Second, let me remind you that it took more than eighty years to re-establish the tax values in Georgia that existed before the War Between the States. And yet, despite the hard-

ships and the sacrifices, the state issued bonds to provide separate systems in the public schools. They have been equal and in many instances today, the Negro schools are more modern and better equipped than the white schools. And Negro teachers receive equal pay. This situation is not only true in my state; it is the prevailing situation throughout the South. No people with an animus toward another race would have done this. It is a concrete example of good will.

Third, we were told overnight that we are oppressors of the Negro, that our traditions and customs are obsolete, that our state laws are illegal and that we must surrender unconditionally to the ukase of the Supreme Court whose members are not chosen by the people, but appointed by the President, and who can only be removed by impeachment.

Q. You have indicated, Senator, that there will be all-out resistance in the South to enforcement of integration and to the Civil Rights bill if it passes in its present form. Is there anything you would add?

A. I do not know of anything I can add to what I said in my speech on the floor of the Senate. But I am very apprehensive about this force bill and the effect it will have if passed. I think it can lead to a situation which even the strongest and most zealous of those who fight against the South would deplore.

My Malenkovy Baby

On the subject of natural human reaction I would say,

That for anyone who had it in his mind to stay

In touch with things like Ballet Russe,
And vodka with the upper crasse:
Khrushchev, Bulgy and the Marshal,
Simple living lads, if partial

To hunting trips at country villas,
And front-row seats to watch and thrill as

Big, blond ladies hurl the discus,
Afterwards conferring kiscus,
And cool nights in Sebastopol,
That disappointment as a rule,

Is surely bound to show,
When one must up and go.

Siberia,

Is drearier.

JOHANNES EFF

Q. Is this then a comparable crisis to that which existed in 1860?

A. Not altogether. There is no likelihood of a second secession, but the slow fruits of evolution could quickly be destroyed. The revolutionary process of attempting to force a change in human nature by legislation, or decree, or fiat, inevitably fathers violent resistance, creates a wholesale disrespect for law, and looses all the evil and disruptive emotions that civilization has so slowly and painfully restrained. I have urged a national plebiscite on the miscalled question of civil rights. I am all too well aware that such a plebiscite will not be held, but there is nothing to prevent the constituents of every Senator from every state, from presenting their views to the men whom they elected to office.

Q. Do you think that such an informal plebiscite, letters and telegram and phone calls to Senators, could defeat the Civil Rights bill?

A. It could. It could be the turn of the balance.

Government by Court?

Q. Senator Russell, do you think that Congress can recover its constitutional place as the law-making body of the land, overcoming the long trend toward subservience to the Executive and the more recent submission to the nullification of its designated powers and duties by the Supreme Court?

A. It can be accomplished, but only if there is a moral or spiritual resurgence which will give men the courage to fight and a restoration of the common sense that will renew the understanding of the constitutional theory of divided powers of government—not only the division between the executive and legislative and judicial, but also the division between the federal and state governments. If this is not accomplished, the Supreme Court will rule the country. We will have a government of men, not a government of law. In that event, in my opinion, it will not be long before the rights of the individual will be dead and done with.

Q. Do you believe that the existing controversies and vicissitudes will be dissipated by a return to a reign of law, rather than of men?

A. I have not given up the fight.



The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

The Sorrows of Khrushchev

Observing from the outside the march of world Communism, we may slip into the delusion that its leaders are all-but-omniscient, exact in foresight and invariably masterful in action. Looking back at the finished pattern of the Communist past, it all seems to have been "planned that way."

But of course things look very different from the inside, and before they happen. For the Communist leaders, as for all men, the world is filled with the contingent and the unknown; reality never quite coincides with plans; mistakes are more frequent than triumphs. The smooth past curve of Communism is an algebraic fiction.

From Where He Sits

From the outside at this moment, how forehanded and bold Khrushchev cannot but seem! But not, I imagine, to Khrushchev. He knows the succession of errors, improvisations, false starts and frantic reversals that have got him to where he now is; he knows the softness of his present footing; and he still more distressingly realizes that he does not know at all clearly where he can go from this point on.

Khrushchev is indifferently equipped for the part of a totalitarian No. 1, a *Fuehrer*. He has none of the dark magic that flows from, and in part serves to define, the true mass leader. He has bureaucratic adroitness, a sense of political timing and a vast will to power; but in intelligence, knowledge and talents he is obviously second rate. He is a mediocre orator, and in a movement so essentially verbalized as Communism he has written nothing important.

His personal history is routine, humdrum. There is no great "sacrifice for the revolution"; no long prison martyrdom; no march on anywhere; no civil war heroism; no ma-

jor frontier achievement in "building socialism"; not even notable service in "the great patriotic war."

Khrushchev knows, moreover, and knows that the whole leading stratum of the Party knows, how jerky has been his post-Stalin progress. Khrushchev was a servile Stalinist toady, implicated in the vilest of Stalin's purges and crimes. His emergence as the prophet of de-Stalinization was not the culmination of a settled purpose but an opportunistic lunge. It was not Khrushchev who started the anti-Stalin campaign at the 20th Congress, but Anastas Mikoyan, who launched it as a veiled assault on Khrushchev himself. Khrushchev leapt aboard the anti-Stalin train to avoid being crushed by it. And it was not Khrushchev but Malenkov who first argued for an anti-Stalinist sort of concession to peasants and consumers.

Khrushchev knows also how unnatural is the composition of his current majority in the Presidium. It includes the same Mikoyan who has been his long-time enemy. With Zhukov sits Bulganin, between whom a bitter feud goes back at least to 1941. Then there is Voroshilov, a Stalinist abject and dishonored, betrayer of his military comrades.

There is still further insecurity. Khrushchev takes his narrowed spotlight against a rather dismal backdrop. The Soviet record of these years while he has been Party Secretary is not impressive. Khrushchev is not swimming in on the crest of a conquering revolution or a victorious war. He cannot point to any land won for Communism. In external affairs the Soviet Union, under his Party direction, has at best maintained a standoff in state relationships, along with a sizable drop in the strength of international Communist forces, especially within the Western nations.

Domestically the empire has, from

a Communist perspective, undergone a series of setbacks: uprisings and threats of uprisings; open revolt in one satellite and open resistance in another; unrest and murmurings from students and intellectuals; independent arrogance from the Eastern flank; and compounded failures in a dozen economic fields from housing, agriculture and transport to money and banking. Khrushchev was himself quite openly defied by mere Polish Ochabs and Gomulkas, as they kept his plane stacked above Warsaw airport while they voted contrary to his orders and the threat of his encircling troops.

Hard Row Ahead

Can such a man, with such a past and out of such a history, really settle the problem of the succession; that is, become the new Stalin? Can the others be brought sufficiently to fear him? Or is it possible that the others have pushed him forward precisely because they feel sure that he cannot become Stalin? Is it his defects, his limitations, that have recommended him?

The Soviet regime is said to have a big operational advantage over more democratic regimes in that it doesn't have to take public opinion into account, and can therefore act with more economy, speed and flexibility. But this divorce from public opinion, when as complete as in the Soviet Union, becomes also a handicap to effective rule. Leaders may propagandize the ruled, but the ruled also give their rulers an indispensable education. A regime too far out of touch with public opinion cannot judge how the masses will react. The regime loses track of a variable essential to its political equations.

To consolidate his position—and to stabilize the Communist regime—the neo-Stalin (whether Khrushchev or another) must liquidate his rivals; must kill. But what will happen if he starts the terror again, and the killing, on a large enough scale? What will the soldiers do? The students and workers and peasants? The Party ranks, the Ukrainians, the satellites, Mao and Tito? Maybe nothing, of course, but he no longer has any way to know. And yet if he doesn't start the killing soon, why, Comrade X may start killing him.

The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Danse Macabre

Paris

The Liberal Line on Europe is that Europe—despite the obvious incapacity of the NATO forces and the striking power of the Red Army—has been safe all along, is safe now, and will keep on being safe until kingdom come. That, moreover, anybody who thinks differently is either misinformed about the facts or—the more usual charge—off his rocker.

The supposed logic underlying these propaganda themes runs more or less as follows:

—Europe is safe. It would become unsafe only in the event of a Soviet decision to fight a major war.

—The USSR is not going to decide to fight a major war because 1) it does not want war (the Kennan thesis), 2) the next major war will be so destructive and horrible that nobody, including the Soviet leaders, could ever “want” it (the Oppenheimer thesis), and 3) Europe, because of NATO’s European bases, will soon have at its disposal forces capable of turning back any Soviet attack.

One calls all that “logic” of course, only by courtesy; and this columnist has been waiting for years for a reply to the obvious objection to it, namely: The Soviet Union may not want war, but it *certainly* wants Europe. Both for that reason and because it is determined, like the United States, to remain overwhelmingly strong along its own frontiers, it cannot permit Europe to become strong enough to defend itself against invasion. Let the anti-Soviet military forces in Europe near the point at which they might become dangerous to Soviet security (including here Soviet capacity to invade and occupy Europe), and the Soviet Union *must* strike, *must* take the chances on America’s opting for the major war that will be too destructive and horrible for anyone to contemplate. From which it follows a) that if major war

indeed be too horrible to contemplate, America will *not* opt for it, b) that Europe is “safe” only so long as it is unsafe, and c) that the U.S. is, on the Liberal propaganda machine’s own showing, playing with fire when it seeks to build up European strength.

The line on Europe (as defined above) has been the Liberal propaganda machine’s easiest victory over common sense through the past ten years. Opposition to it has been sporadic, easy to discredit because of the notorious anti-Soviet fanaticism of its spokesmen, because of the mounting prestige of Kennan and Oppenheimer, and because most of the machine’s target audience has wished to believe it. Everyone, therefore, repeats it to himself and to everybody else. Europe has been safe all along, is safe today, will get safer and safer. Besides which the President believes Europe is safe; and he, great general that he is, *certainly* ought to know.

What is less easy to explain is the continued silence about all this from the machine’s European target audience. Have *they* swallowed the Liberal Line? Do *they*—living as they do under the very shadow of the Red Army—believe that Europe is safe? Do *they* believe that the USSR is so seized of the horror and destructiveness of the future war that it will really let Europe build itself up into a military threat? Do *they* not see that the clear implication of all the talk from Washington about “atomic stalemate” is that the USSR can, with impunity, invade and occupy Europe? Why, then, do not they demand that the United States (which alone conceivably could) either 1) really defend them, or 2) drop all the incendiary foolishness about a stronger Europe?

How do the Europeans propose to prevent—since the United States clearly cannot prevent it—the Communization of Europe? And if they

have nothing to propose, what makes them press forward with plans for greater production via economic integration, for greater investment in productive machinery, etc.—of which only the USSR can be the ultimate beneficiary?

This columnist has recently spent five days in circumstances that enabled him to put the above questions, and others like them, to self-avowed “Rightist” observers in Europe. Boiled down to their essentials, the answers come to something like this:

—Insofar as the Liberal machine has tried to convince them that Europe is safe and getting safer, it has failed completely: they know Europe lies at the mercy of the USSR; and if they do not think or talk from that proposition to its implications, it is because—and man after man put it to me in just those words—they prefer not to think about it at all.

—Similarly with the machine’s attempt to persuade them about the atomic stalemate: they believe the war will be infinitely horrible and infinitely destructive, but do *not* conclude from that that it will not occur. Their reasoning runs rather: it will be infinitely horrible and infinitely destructive and it *will* occur, whether in the USSR’s own good time or the U.S.’s own good time makes no difference really.

—What matters is that when the war happens, it shall not happen to Europe. They accept the Oppenheimer thesis, but draw from it the inference that Oppenheimer of course wished everyone but the Russians to draw from it, namely: “If the only means of preventing Communization involves exposing ourselves to atomic war, then let’s not prevent Communization.”

Ask them whether Communism might conceivably be more horrible, more destructive, than the war, and they have a debater’s answer: “You Americans know nothing about the horrors of war.”

If there was a trace of any other kind of thinking among my companions those five days, I couldn’t find it. Unless you would use the word “thinking” to describe the final comment of one of the British observers. “Who knows?” he said. “Something may turn up.”

They Spoke for Christian Europe

One of Spain's leading political philosophers
comments on the recent discovery of American
Conservatism, and its meaning for the West

RAFAEL CALVO-SERER

The place: Spain's Escorial, which America's Frederick Wilhelmsen has called "the crucible of the Spanish tradition, burial ground of its kings, promise of its Resurrection in whatever destiny Providence holds for the West."

The occasion: the sixth annual Congress of the European Center of Documentation and Information, which beyond any other European organization is the rallying point of serious European anti-Communists.

The participants: more than 100 politicians, diplomats, professors, writers, theologians and military men, brought together for three days of deliberative sessions, punctuated (all stayed at the same hotel) with good talk over meals and in the bar.

The topic (to which the place, the occasion, and the participants seemed peculiarly appropriate): the "misunderstanding" between America and Europe. For the first time in the history of the Center, the United States was represented.

The purpose: to discuss the obstacles that stand in the way of cooperative effort, and to fix upon common lines of future action. The first of those obstacles to come up, and quite naturally in a Congress sitting by choice in a former stronghold of the House of Austria, and presided over by the Archduke Otto von Hapsburg: American anti-colonialism, and European resentment of America's power.

But that is not what I wish to speak about, for those matters were not destined to profit from, or even be the real subject matter of, the discussions. As far as I am concerned, the importance of this sixth Congress of the ECDI lay in what it revealed about the profoundly European consciousness and sense of responsibility of the American participants.

—James Burnham, for instance (he

was not actually present, but his paper on "Can America Cut Loose from Europe?" lay before the Congress as it began its deliberations). What a surprise for those who have confused America with the Afro-Asiatic tendencies around the White House! There, as Burnham himself pointed out, people speak as if the better world the U.S. must build must wait upon America's freeing itself from decadent old Europe, with its rachitic economies, its antiquated social prejudices, and its military weakness—as if the future lay in the hands of colored peoples driven by hatred for everything European. Thanks to those tendencies, said Burnham, the flags of Europe have disappeared one at a time from Indonesia, India and Indo-China, and are perhaps about to disappear from North Africa. Again thanks to those tendencies, according to Burnham, on the second of November 1956 Eisenhower and Dulles joined with the Communists and the Afro-Asiatics to denounce the two courageous European nations who were defending, at Suez, the interests of the entire West.

The absurdity of such policies, commented Burnham, became clear in the wake of that incident, in the crowing of the cock that always follows a betrayal, when the United States found itself obliged to assume responsibility for the Western positions in the Near East that it had itself undermined, and had to find, for England and France, the oil that they might have provided for themselves had they been left free to act. Like it or not, concluded Burnham, the U.S. is itself the only really powerful member of the European community, alone capable of standing up against the Communism that looks to its destruction; and it denies and weakens itself when it thinks of its destiny in other terms.

—Willmoore Kendall, for instance.

Picking up a point of Burnham's, to the effect that Americans are Europeans, he called upon his listeners to think of Europe as divided into three parts: Eastern Europe, already occupied by the Communists; Western Europe, which the Communists can occupy tomorrow; and American Europe, which contrary to current notions must live a life of slavery so long as it must subordinate the other values of European civilization to that of defense. "American Europe," he said, "can become free, can resume the living of the good life as Europe has always conceived it, only by liberating itself and the rest of Europe from every form of subjection to Communism. And this it can do only by destroying the military power of the Soviet Union." As for those "misunderstandings" between America and Europe, he went on, some of them are all to the good. "When Leftists in America fall out with Leftists in Europe, the Right can only benefit—just as when thieves fall out, honest men get their due."

—Frederick Wilhelmsen, for instance. "Men of Europe," he said, "you and I are traditionalists. We remember our inheritance from classical antiquity. We venerate it because it is part of our very essence. . . . The Cross has been the very existence of that essence. It has filled all our pages with honor and decency and a sacred madness. Today we face together a common enemy. He rises within our very midst. He stalks our cities and covers all our countryside with his restlessness and arrogance. He is post-modern man, the Mass Man claiming the future. . . . I have nothing to give you but this warning: Resist him! We Christians are the people of the Resurrection. We turned back the clock when Christ rose from the tomb, and our every victory has been

(Continued on p. 112)

Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

The Vice of Capitalism

It seems almost certain now that a new military base will be established in Kenya and the good offices of NATO enlisted in another attempt to solve the Cyprus problem. People are at last beginning to understand that, in spite of what Archbishop Makarios says, this is much more a dispute (and a singularly intractable one) between Greece and Turkey than a quarrel between Greece and Britain. But inflation has jumped back into the British headlines. We've just started down another incline and everyone has taken the opportunity to point out that we're moving.

The first set of comments came from various union conferences. Mr. Frank Cousins, the militant leader of Britain's largest union, the Transport and General Workers, was loudly cheered when he rejected any idea of wage restraint or cooperation with the Government in setting up an impartial authority to consider the problem of wages in an inflationary economy. Mr. Campbell, the general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, received a tremendous ovation when he warned the Government: "Do not squeeze the people too far. Do not press upon us this stupid philosophy of yours." Several other union leaders accused the Government of "undermining the workers' standard of living" and insisted that the struggle for higher wages must continue. In order to make their demands more effective, they passed resolutions calling for a still tighter "closed shop" system.

This is not a position which can be met with reason. It doesn't depend on arguments—or, at least, not on respectable arguments. It is based partly on straightforward political militancy but still more on old-fashioned self-interest; for the truth is that the unions have been doing very well. The wage index has risen considerably faster than the price index; which means that trade unionists, far from losing ground, have been improving their standard of liv-

ing at the expense of other sections of the community. They may disapprove of inflation in theory but in practice they will oppose any measure designed to stop it. Their excuse that profits are high is largely untrue and wholly irrelevant. There is no necessary connection between profits and wages and, if there were, it would surely be an argument in favor of an impartial survey of the relationship between the two—which is exactly what the unions refuse to contemplate. Nor would they agree for a moment to a genuine sliding scale by which wages went down when profits went down.

This intransigence might be useful if it taught the Government not to pin its faith on surveys and discussions and exhortation. But the Government refuses to learn. Three times this week Mr. Thorneycroft, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, made important speeches about inflation and each of them amounted to a shuffling off of responsibility. "If we continue to pay ourselves more without producing more," he said, "the value of money will continue to decline." This sort of remark is merely irritating to ordinary people. After all, Members of Parliament, who recently voted themselves a salary increase, are among the very few employees in a position "to pay themselves more." The blame for inflation cannot be distributed equally across the community. It is hypocrisy or cowardice to pretend that it can.

The Government's refusal to interfere with the process of collective bargaining might be defensible as part of the philosophy of freedom; but unfortunately it isn't genuine. The influence of the Government has been more or less decisive in every recent industrial dispute. First, because the nationalized industries have taken the lead in granting pay increases without strings; second because the Minister of Labor has exerted heavy pressure to secure a

compromise that is to force the employers to grant at least a substantial part of the raise demanded. More directly still, Government spending, the issue of unbacked Government bonds, has been one of the chief causes in the inflationary process.

And what is the Chancellor proposing to do about it? Nothing very much, as far as one can see. Last week he stopped people attempting to save the value of their money by investing it in Canadian securities. This week he has raised the interest rates on loans by the Treasury to local councils and nationalized industries. The "credit squeeze," he says, must continue.

Nobody believes these measures will be effective. Government securities dropped again yesterday to the lowest levels ever recorded. War Loan, the key stock, is now worth less than half its real value ten years ago. Store shares fell too because of rumors that the Government might increase the purchase tax. The reasons for this fall are clear and significant. First, the unions are going ahead with new pay demands; second, the Government will do nothing to stop them, though it may try to make money tighter for everyone; third, this will increase the likelihood of a Labor Government, and a Labor Government means more nationalization.

The Socialists, of course, are quick to condemn the Government but their own proposals hold out no prospect of comfort. They disapprove of cutting State expenditure; they would prefer to cut personal expenditure by imposing higher taxes. As they would then presumably spend the new revenue, the over-all situation would hardly be improved. The burden would simply fall again on those who have already suffered most from inflation—the people who want to save for the future.

"As we know well," a German manufacturer said to me yesterday, "in a time of real inflation only the Government gains." One of the chief effects of the decline in the value of money is a weakening of personal independence in relation to the State; which may explain why politicians seem to accept the prospect of inflation with more equanimity than private citizens. Lenin said long ago that inflation was the vice of capitalism and would destroy it.

Private Enterprise Provides Foreign Aid

A study of investment by private enterprise in "underdeveloped" countries proves it to be more effective than U.S. government handouts

FRANK CHODOROV

There seem to be a lot of "underdeveloped" areas right here in the United States. In fact, the ardent wooing of industry by every town and hamlet suggests that the country as a whole can be so described. Even cities sooty with factory smoke are looking for additional plants, and we can take it for granted, man being what he is, that the search will continue indefinitely.

Of course, these "underdeveloped" areas are not averse to taking government gratuities on occasion, but for more certain and continuing improvement they appeal to the profit-motive of capital investors. That seems to be the reliable way. A factory makes jobs, not only internally but also collaterally; the wages it pays make jobs for bank clerks, storekeepers, bus drivers, doctors, lawyers, farmers. Production begets production, simply because wages are dead-set on being spent.

Since this is the way that America got out of its erstwhile comparatively "underdeveloped" condition, why not apply it to the more "underdeveloped" areas of the world? Why not let private enterprise do what foreign aid, on a government-to-government basis, seems incapable of doing?

Last year an inquisitive Senate faced up to this question and set up a Special Committee to Study the Foreign Aid Program. One of the projects of this committee was to investigate the role of private enterprise in foreign countries. That particular job was entrusted to the American Enterprise Association, Inc.; its report (available at the Government Printing Office) is now before the Senate.

Among the interesting facts set forth in this report is that despite the many handicaps encountered, mostly political, American investors have been sending some \$2 billion a year abroad, since Korea. Of this amount

more than a half billion has been going to what the Commerce Department designates as "underdeveloped" countries.¹ This is quite a tribute to the hardihood of American capital, considering the margin of safety these millions would enjoy in domestic investment. Why are they sent abroad? Simply because the return is greater where the supply of goods is less and competition is not so keen. Capital naturally flows to where there is prospect of a higher interest-rate, with a few percentage points included for risk.

The risk in "underdeveloped" countries is often considerable. First, there is the threat of nationalization which confronts the investor in practically every country in the world; there are very few spots unaffected by the disease of socialism. Expropriation takes other forms: the depletion of capital values by the pegging of money at artificial rates; discriminatory taxes against foreigners; inflation. Other obstacles are met with, such as the inconvertibility of currencies, making it difficult to transfer earnings or repatriate capital, and increasing the cost of needed supplies from abroad. Residence requirements often interfere with efficient management; in some countries more than half the voting stock of a company must be owned by natives, in others employment preference must be given to untrained local talent.

Another obstacle listed by the report is our foreign aid program itself. "Nations which feel that they have an outside chance of obtaining large-scale development aid from the United States Government are unlikely to take many steps to encourage private foreign investment."

Despite these handicaps, some \$2

billion a year (including reinvested profits) do take a chance at improving the economy of foreign countries, at a profit, of course. And because the investor keys his operations to the needs and possibilities of the community, rather than to some ideological or grandiose program, or an attempt to "impose the 20th century A.D. on the 20th century B.C.," the improvement is always forthcoming.

One Company's Experience

As an illustration of the role of American foreign investment the report recounts the experience of Sears, Roebuck in Latin America. Beginning with a small store in Havana in 1941, the company now operates some twenty-five establishments south of the Rio Grande. At first, about 90 per cent of the goods offered consisted of imports from the United States. The goods were too expensive for local consumption, and probably not most suitable for the culture, and the company turned to products of local manufacture. With both capital and instruction it encouraged the establishment of supply industries, so that now 80 per cent of its stock, in Mexico, is produced there. Through carefully worked out training programs, native personnel, even at the managerial level, has increasingly replaced Americans.

And so it goes. Wherever an American firm has set up shop it has produced goods and services which the native population were ready to accept; it has stimulated the production of its supplies; it has improved the level of wages; it has educated local employees; it has indirectly widened the horizon of the natives. Of course, the governments of these countries have gained by the taxes levied on these companies and their employees. And in many cases the companies have assumed, perhaps for selfish

¹The whole world minus Western Europe, Canada, the Union of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Japan. The Latin American countries are put in an in-between category because they enjoy higher real incomes per person than Asian and African countries.

reasons, eleemosynary functions, such as the improvement of sanitation, the establishment of hospitals, the setting up of schools and the endowment of scholarships.

The bureaucracy counters these facts with the assertion that the principal magnet for American investment has been the extractive industries, like mining and oil refining. The reason for this is that the products have a world market and are more readily disposed of. But what of it? The workers at an oil well are, economically, no different from the workers in a shoe shop. They must be trained and they must be paid. Their earnings call for the production of goods which in turn call for the services of local suppliers. Production in one economic field calls for production in other fields, and the high wages in one industry are soon reflected in comparable wages in other industries. The report parallels the story of Sears, Roebuck with the experiences of several oil companies in "underdeveloped" countries.

Well, since private enterprise has proved its capacity for improving conditions in every country where it has been permitted to operate, why not look to it to do what government grants and loans seem incapable of doing? All that is necessary to extend foreign investments is to provide some sort of insurance against loss from confiscation. This, the study concludes, can be done in two ways: one, by entering into "treaties of friendship" with countries that look with favor on private property—a step necessary to the setting up of an insurance fund (toward which the investors would pay premiums) against losses due to expropriation or confiscation; two, by granting foreign investors some tax relief. The study does not say so, but the implication is that countries which do not wish to enter into such treaties are well satisfied with their "underdeveloped" condition and ought not to be disturbed. But that, unfortunately, would leave our own bureaucrats without purpose and without jobs.

THEY SPOKE FOR CHRISTIAN EUROPE

(Continued from p. 109)

a victory over Death. If this perpetual ability of the West to live in dying, and yet remain ever the same through each rebirth—if this be called folly by those who dream of a world beyond the West in a history beyond tradition, then I say to them that it is a holy folly and that I for one glory in their taunt. Long Live Don Quixote de la Mancha!"

In a word: the voices raised at the Escorial in defense of Christian Europe, as contrasted with the parochialisms of the Common Market and Euratom, were the American voices! Some of the European voices, indeed, seemed to have despaired of that defense, and seemed ready to accept the eclipse of Christian Europe that would follow upon its abandonment.

And what I have been telling myself since the Congress is: This opens up possibilities I had never dreamed of before. It could be the starting point for a drastic reconsideration, by European conservatives, of their entire thought and their entire strategy. It could be the solid cornerstone of a Conservative International, the need for which becomes more painfully evident with every day on which we witness the effective cooperation, across national frontiers, of the Communists and the Liberals. We have not, hitherto, spoken seriously among ourselves, here in Europe, of genuine allies in the United States, much less of a solid body of conservative thought and sentiment in the United States. Wilhelmsen and Kendall at the Escorial left us, for the moment, unable to believe our eyes and our ears, for we had not dared to suppose that the Liberalizing formulae of American officials and visiting professors, of whom we see a steady stream, had served to conceal from us the steady conservative tendency of American life and American politics. Helped, of course, by fellow-traveling Liberals on both sides of the Atlantic, who have wished us to remain ignorant of the incidence and bearing of the forces of traditionalism in America. For, did those forces not exist, the world triumph of Communism would be inevitable.

Well, now we know. And may take heart from the knowledge.



Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

Norman Mailer's Culture Hero

Time is wearing away the moral capital, inherited from an earlier age, which has thus far prevented the champions of relativism from acting like the beasts their philosophy envisions men to be. John Dewey personally lived, I am sure, an upright life. Followers of his, such as Sidney Hook, on particular issues very often display exemplary moral attitudes, totally at variance with their philosophical teaching, a teaching corrosive of all values except the successful achievement of random emotional desires.

Only lately have we begun to see serious practical signs of the emergence of the type of human being logically to be expected from that teaching. The generation of children brought up by teachers whom the relativists have trained and by parents whom they have influenced has for some time been producing an alarming number of depraved and criminal adolescents. Unwilling to face the obvious conclusion that the denigration and destruction of the moral values which guide and discipline the growing human being will result in dehumanization, in an approach to the condition of the beasts who live without values, the authors of this degeneration of man call the phenomenon "juvenile delinquency." They consider it a clinical problem to be solved by the "scientific" techniques of sociology or psychology.

But their methods will avail not at all. Indeed, so long as they endure, the evil will grow. This "juvenile delinquency" is not the mischief, the watermelon stealing, the petty vandalism, of the young of earlier generations; it is brutality, uncontrolled sexuality, violence for violence's sake. It is the foretaste of the fruit that we shall inevitably inherit unless the philosophical offensive that is eating away at the values upon which civilization is based is beaten back.

Nor does it matter greatly whether

the harvest takes the form of unrestrained ravaging by hordes of wolf-like men or the equally brutal "order" of the totalitarian state. Men bereft of moral values, without the inspiration of a vision of human destiny beyond the given and the seen, will remain beasts, whether they prey as anarchistic individualists or in the name of order and the state—and however imposing and powerful their scientific control over nature.

While it has long been clear to the eye of theoretical understanding that this was the inevitable end towards which the prevailing philosophy of the age was tending, and while such phenomena as "juvenile delinquency," concentration camps and total war have given us some taste of what a world without the sanctions of transcendental values could be like, hitherto no person of intellectual pretension has seen and gloried in the goal towards which this post-Christian secularist religion of relativism has been ineluctably directed. Men like John Dewey and Sidney Hook, to repeat, living on the moral stock inherited from the Western tradition, have personally regarded their intellectual endeavors as conducive to the flowering of virtues, although their own philosophy has no way of distinguishing virtue from vice. Even so horrendous a specimen of the social engineer as Professor B. F. Skinner (the Harvard psychologist who would create Utopia through a conditioning of men comparable to Pavlov's conditioning of dogs) projects as his goal a society whose members seek some ends which are virtuous and none which are vices *per se*.

It is, therefore, with the horror one experiences in an inexorably logical nightmare that I read in the current issue of *Dissent* an article by Norman Mailer, glorifying as the end of human existence the full expression of the most brutal impulses of

lust and violence. It should be noted that this was not Mr. Mailer in his role of best-selling novelist, shoveling in the smut that brings the sales. It was Mr. Mailer writing and publishing as a serious thinker, for the *avant-garde* of the Establishment, in a journal which represents the left wing of the Establishment, a journal which, despite its criticism of the stuffed-shirt aspects of Establishment thinking, shares every fundamental theoretical position of the Establishment.

The "Hipster"

Considerations of taste prevent me from reproducing Mr. Mailer's thesis with its full stench; but I shall do what I can within the limits of my prejudices. His subject is the "hipster," the devotee of the cult of jazz and marijuana, raw sex and violence. The hipster, it is his thesis, is a "philosophical psychopath," and while there are as yet only perhaps 100,000 of them in the country, there are 10,000,000 psychopaths. On the future of the psychopaths, on their maturing to the philosophical level of the hipster, it is necessary to depend for the final overthrow of "the slow relentless inhumanity of the conservative power" of civilization and its values.

No longer is it John Dewey's social engineer or Karl Marx' economically and politically oppressed proletarian who is to be the demiurge of the future where man makes himself. It is "the sexual adventurer deflected from his goal by the implacable animosity of a society constructed to deny the sexual radical." It is "the psychopath [who] murders—if he has the courage—out of the necessity to purge his violence, because if he cannot empty his hatred, then he cannot love."

One may thank Mr. Mailer for exhibiting so clearly the fearful, devilish lineaments of the ideal man, product of the teaching that human capabilities have no function but as instrument to desire. Ideas, as Richard Weaver has said, have consequences; and the positivist attack upon the structure of values that has made our civilization leads straight to the jungle—or rather to something much worse, for the animals of the jungle, possessing no spiritual essence, cannot become incarnate evil.

ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Damnation: Cool, Comfortable and Air-Conditioned

It is of course impossible to speak a whole evening of Jesus Christ without mentioning the truth. When God is invoked, the shell of language bursts. And there comes inescapably a moment when in spite of speaker and time and place the superior presence touches us.

But in discussing the Rev. Mr. Billy Graham's New York Crusade I am, unfortunately, not reporting a religious experience. I am discussing a production. And this is not *my* choice. It's Mr. Graham's. He has employed all "mass media" and all the trumpets of the market to announce his enterprise in terms of a record, an unprecedented event, a spectacle. In accepting, as I must, his own terms, I shall review what I have seen.

The key of the performance was set right away on my approach to Madison Square Garden. Throughout the entire Broadway area, strategically located and impeccably well-mannered, a host of obviously voluntary associates of Mr. Graham were distributing free passes for the great rally. And each pass bore this come-on: "Cool, Comfortable and Air-Conditioned."

Now there was some kind of record right here, or anyhow a first. I was not around in Billy Sunday's days and I am no expert on Jonathan Edwards, but I do not hesitate to acknowledge that no revivalist meeting in human experience, none before Mr. Graham that is, has ever promised its targets coolness, comfort and an air-conditioned state of contemplation. True, those were the dark reactionary days when no Frigidaires had yet been installed in Hell and the unsophisticated image of damnation had still a frighteningly direct connotation of steaming brimstone. And this is the era of Norman Vincent Peale and Dwight D. Eisenhower, an era of Moderate Republicanism, Moderate Good Will, and Moderate Hell, an era of cool comfort and even cooler emotions. Everybody's golf score is going up, as does the market, and one goes to a revival

meeting primarily to enjoy a few air-conditioned hours. It's so good to be alive that it might be fun to hear a nice man talk of the hereafter.

Mr. Graham is nice. He will defend his choice of weapons—sterilized, streamlined, guaranteed rustproof, carrying the label of *Good Housekeeping*, as advertised in *Life*—with the nice argument of what are currently known as "modern mass-communicators" (and were previously known as barkers): that there is nothing inherently wrong in using clever methods that assure the greatest possible audience for an inherently right message. But there is! And though it may seem presumptuous for a non-ordained critic to debate such issues with the most-advertised minister of the age, I can't help it. I wouldn't know of any more legitimate issue to be pondered here.

Here is a Man of God—and I do not doubt that, with all the limited sincerity man is capable of, Mr. Graham believes he acts on His orders. Nor do I mean to say that those saintly men through whose voices God chooses to speak must of necessity walk around in the armor of inaccessible dignity. There have been saintly men with a boyish smile in their eyes. But I doubt whether there ever was a Man of God with Mr. Graham's magnificent press relations.

A few weeks ago, on "Meet the Press," he was asked by one of the four tough reporters who were facing him: "Mr. Graham, how do you wish us to address you—Reverend Graham or Dr. Graham or Mr. Graham?" And there came the answer that, assuredly, no Man of God had ever given before or, I hope, will ever give in the future: "I wish you'd call me Billy." We are all on a first-name basis, you see, regular fellows, no stuffed hair-shirts. Religion, brother, is like the Elks—hearty, neighborly, democratic, moderate, nice. Just call me Billy.

Well, I won't. I shall call Mr. Graham the Reverend Mr. Graham, and I shall not suppress my fear that his will is better than his act. It is perfectly possible that thousands of the people who have stepped forward in his scores of meetings "to receive Christ" have indeed seen the light. The bolt of religious experience strikes with incalculable force at unlikely times in unpredictable places. I was, in fact, deeply and unforgettablely moved by the gigantic audience that was crowding Madison Square Garden. There were, among them, people in such genuine search for a meaning to their lives that some *must* have found an answer, and not necessarily from Mr. Graham. I can't remember an audience (outside the dedicated places of worship) so disciplined by a desire for truth, so ready for it, as this. But here is precisely my quarrel with Mr. Graham's conduct: though he does not know it, he does not respect his audience. For, to the extent that he has embraced the wiles of advertising, the tricks of the "mass-communicator," he has acquired contempt for people.

It is not true that people can be led to God the way they can be led to a supermarket. What is more, "people" can't be led to God—only man, only the lonely and unique and inexchangeable person. There is perhaps no worse heresy in our days than the notion that "the masses" must be cajoled, tricked, caught unawares, smack into redemption. Mr. Graham may have preached to a million times more people than any Apostle, and ten million times more people may have seen him than saw St. Francis of Assisi. This hasn't brought a single soul nearer to God. It has only testified to the sinister prowess of modern technology.

I wish Mr. Graham well. He is as nice as any man I have met on Madison Avenue, and as full of good will as, say, the President. He may be one of God's unpredictable tools, in spite of himself; for His plans are impene-trable. But the serious business of conversion and redemption will have to be pursued, as in all the Frigidairiless thousands of years behind us, with the fire of one man's soul reaching out for another's. Damnation is not cool, redemption not comfortable. The masses are going to Hell. The lonely person may see the light.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Re Dogs and Men

MAX EASTMAN

I didn't learn from Dr. William Sargant's startling book, *Battle for the Mind* (New York: Doubleday & Company. \$4.50), that Time Marches On. I had heard that before; but his book brought it strongly home to my thoughts. In 1867 when my father entered Oberlin college, the famous evangelist, Charles G. Finney, was just retired as president, and my grandfather, a circuit-riding minister up on the banks of the St. Lawrence, wrote to him:

"My son! Better for you had you not been born, than to fail of feeling in some degree at least, that man's mantle falling on you! Watch that great man of God!"

Only two generations later, I sit here reading with excited approval a book in which Charles G. Finney is cited as one of the most accomplished early practitioners of the brainwashing techniques brought to perfection by the monsters of Stalin's GPU.

Einstein remarked that probably no other theory ever "gave a key to the interpretation of such a heterogeneous group of phenomena as the quantum theory." But Dr. Sargant's theory, if you can call it that, is certainly a close runner-up. Starting with Pavlov's schemes for producing and manipulating neuroses in dogs, he makes that a key to the interpretation of brainwashing by the Communists, conversion by the religious revivalists, witch-trials by the witch-finding committees, heresy-hunting by the Inquisition, shock treatment of certain forms of insanity, the festivals of Astarte, Arthur Koestler's leap from a self-sickening debauch into the bosom of the Communist Party, voodoo in Haiti, Mau Mau in Kenya, dancing manias of the Middle Ages, Quaker meetings before they quit quaking, snake-handling cults in our South (one of which he watched and photographed), the Crusades, the revels of Dionysus, eliciting of confessions by the American, and (although he hates to admit it) also the British police, initiation into the Greek Mysteries, and—here hold your breath!—"uncritical use of therapeutic techniques" by the psychoanalysts.

Pavlov had four methods of disrupting the nicely conditioned reflexes in his famous dogs: increasing beyond endurance the strength of a familiar signal; abnormally prolong-

ing the wait between a signal and the expected result; mixing up positive and negative signals until the dog was in a state of unbearable tension; and if those didn't work, making the dog physically weak, sick, starved, emaculated, or tired out.

In the resulting breakdown of the dog's brain-function, he noted four stages: 1) the dog begins to react the same way to any signal; 2) he reacts more strongly to weak than to strong signals; 3) his positive reflexes shift to negative and vice versa—that is, he likes what he hated and hates what he liked; and 4) a "protective brain inhibition" occurs in which he ceases to react at all. When that point is reached, his former conditionings are, as it were, washed clean, and he is open to reconditioning on a grand scale. Or to get back to a semi-human terminology, he is "highly suggestible to new behavior patterns." Even in the third stage, I gather, he could almost be converted from dog-biscuit to dill pickles, and

on recovering from the last stage he is, if he survives to adopt a still more human terminology—born again. What "behavior patterns" are implanted now depends on who takes him in hand.

In that last paragraph I may be getting the dogs and the humans a little mixed up. But that is all right, for the thesis of the book is that by a similar technique for arousing fright, bewilderment, tension, and exhaustion—by a similar systemized torment—the brain-functioning of human beings can also be disrupted. They can be made to reject what they adhered to, and embrace what they despised, and in a final breakdown accept any "new behavior patterns" that are presented to them with authority and a hope of relief. The victim of brainwashing, for example, could as well have imprinted on his cleaned brain a belief in the Communion of Saints as the Communist Party. And the exalted maidens staggering from a revival meeting in which they have repented in agony and been saved, are as amenable to behavior patterns suggested by young toughs lurking around the door of the tabernacle as by the appointed of God. They are in a state of what Dr. Sargant delicately calls "non-specific conversion."

I should explain that toward religious meditation, instruction, conviction, as distinct from engineered conversion, Dr. Sargant's attitude is reverent and sympathetic. He declares his central theme to be "the physiology of religious and political conversion," but he takes a good deal more care of the feelings of his religious than his political readers. Indeed he concedes—and more than that asserts with apparent enthusiasm—that by methods closely comparable to Communist brainwashing, John Wesley "made great numbers of English people think less about their material well-being than their spiritual salvation, thus fortifying them, at a critical period of the French revolution, against dangerous materialistic

teachings of Tom Paine." He does not hesitate to point out, however, that "all the physiological mechanisms exploited by Pavlov in his animal experiments . . . seem to have been exploited by [Jonathan] Edwards or his successors in their Calvinist missionary campaigns." Nor does he neglect to bring to mind the identity of Charles G. Finney's advice to his fellow-revivalists with one of the main points in the technique employed by the GPU to secure "confessions" from dissident Communists.

"Take pains to learn the state of his mind . . ." says Dr. Finney—"what he feels most deeply upon—and then press that thoroughly; and do not divert his mind by talking about anything else. Do not fear to press that point for fear of driving him to distraction. Some people fear to press a point to which the mind is tremblingly alive lest they should injure the mind. . . ." Just go to it!

If I have dwelt too long on the religious half of Dr. Sargant's subject, it is because the similarity of old-fashioned revival meetings to the torment-and-confession technique of the GPU strikes me as front-page news all by itself. (The word "old-fashioned" slipped in because, having observed them both, I am conscious of a considerable difference between the sedate church-service atmosphere of Billy Graham's appeal to superstition and the diabolic circus antics of Billy Sunday.) With a little more space I should like to praise the care and understanding with which Dr. Sargant has examined the literature of brainwashing, and in general the methods of securing political conversion in our more up-to-date, more

"modern" world. It too is a lurid and alarming story. That both these stories, and many others, so strikingly recall Pavlov's schemes for driving dogs crazy is "so much velvet" so far as making an interesting book is concerned.

Incidentally, it is not always kept in mind. Indeed a principal fault of this book, as I look back over it, is Dr. Sargant's failure to correlate constantly and in detail the findings of Pavlov, so carefully set forth at the beginning, with each and all of the human manifestations to which it is supposed to provide a key. He is a little carried away by the extensiveness of its application. A more intensive, and even reiterative, examination of the parallelism between what happened to the dogs and what happens to some human victims would add clarity and conviction.

A great merit of the book, to my mind, is that it advances a new and

authoritative hypothesis in the field of psychopathology without having recourse to, or any respect for, the demonological part of Freud's contribution. Dr. Sargant shows that it is possible to employ truths discovered by Freud without dreaming up a race of faceless imps or goblins—the id, the ego, the censor, the super-ego, the Oedipus Complex, etc.—and set them barging around in a mysterious region, neither mind nor matter, identified only by a negation, "The Unconscious." Dr. Sargant can get along with two basic entities, the brain and the mind.

Another great merit of his book, and one from which vital conclusions can be drawn, is its refutation of "the widely held but physiologically untenable dogma that no ill-treatment which leaves a man with a whole skin, the use of his limbs, and unimpaired senses, can be construed as duress."

"A Very Good Book"

A Note-book of Edmund Burke, edited by H. V. F. Somerset. 120 pp. New York: Cambridge University Press. \$3.50

"His stream of mind was perpetual," Samuel Johnson said of Burke. And that stream began to flow very early; the essays and sketches in this Note-book, written by Edmund Burke and his connection William Burke when they were very young men, bear the marks of genius. Mr. Somerset has done an admirable work of editing, and this—as George III said of a very much later work of Burke's—is "a good book, a very good book; and every gentleman ought to read it."

Wisdom came to Burke, as it comes to very few men, while he was still in college. (Mr. Somerset includes in his introduction an interesting description of the course of study Burke pursued at Dublin, then a sounder university than Oxford.) In the "character" entitled "The Man of Spirit," Edmund Burke (then, perhaps, not much more than twenty-one years old) suggests the sort of man that he was *not*: "There are men who pass for great spirits by neglecting or trampling upon all the Decent Regulations of living, conversing, and writing. Their admirers see all their

faults, and are ready enough to confess them, but it is the Misfortune of Men of Genius to be eccentric and extravagant. There is nothing so monstrous which this Character of Genius will not excuse. Nay people go further and make their very weaknesses and follies pass for convincing proof of their Superior Talents."

Burke's brief essay on "Religion of No Efficacy Considered as a State Engine" sufficiently refutes John Adams' contention that Burke was a "political Christian." "If you attempt to make the end of Religion to be its Utility to human Society, to make it only a sort of supplement to the Law, and insist principally upon this Topic, as it is very common to do, you then change its principle of Operation, which consists on Views beyond this Life, to a consideration of another kind, and of an inferior kind; and thus, by forcing it against its Nature to become a Political Engine, You make it an Engine of no efficacy at all." This piece is of much interest in the light of Burke's later observations on religion, including his denunciations of the "social gossellers" of his day, the English Unitarians. But it can also stand by itself as a marvelously succinct work of philosophy.

To order any book reviewed in this book section, write:

THE BOOKMAILER

Box 101, Murray Hill Station
New York 16, N. Y.

Return mail service—postpaid
PAY ONLY BOOKSTORE PRICE

\$.....payment enclosed

Please send me:
(name of book)

.....

.....

Name

Address

.....

.....

(No C.O.D. orders accepted; payment

MUST accompany order. N.Y. City residents add 3% tax.)

In this essay, as in much else, Burke was what our time calls an "anti-intellectual": that is, he exposed mercilessly the vainglory of the cult of Pure Reason. And in this, as in so much else, Burke displayed an intellectual power far superior to that possessed by the dogmatists of Rationalism.

RUSSELL KIRK

Here Is a Man

The Taxis of the Marne, by Jean Dutourd, translated by Harold King. 245 pp. New York: Simon and Schuster. \$3.50

M. Dutourd was twenty when he surrendered to the Germans in 1940, but his current book has all the faults of adolescence. His style is often spasmodic and declamatory; his judgment of some of his countrymen, including Marshal Pétain, is sometimes both unjust and inconsistent. But for all that, he has written a book that is as refreshing as a cool breeze in the evening of a sultry day.

This angry and despairing book is born of one clear insight: that world unity and peace are "the visions dreamed by dying nations which have nothing to lose by them." M. Dutourd knows, as all men who are not cowards know, that in the last analysis nations live and die by blood and steel alone. And knowing this, he has the courage to love his country. Amid the shrill gabble of *homunculi* who try to substitute words for facts, he affirms the ancient faith of men who are spiritually as well as physiologically male: *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*.

M. Dutourd has no illusions about the future. If he errs, he errs as all men should—on the side of pessimism. Sooner or later, he believes, France will be invaded by the Russians or the Americans or, perhaps, the Chinese or the Hindus: "It is no good trying to hide this fact: they will trample France under foot like a field of alfalfa. . . . Paris will be ground to dust." But for him, as it should be for all men, pessimism is a source of strength. "I am not resigned to ending my days in the prisons of the puritans of America or the atheists of Russia. . . . I have the right to fight . . . and I see no reason to deprive myself of that right."

Anyone who is pained by M. Dutourd's failure to discern a great difference between us and the Russians should remember that we are justly judged abroad in terms of our foreign policy; and that the best answer to a reproach is to cease to merit it.

This is a book that will dismay the epicene little intellectuals who twitter in our State Department, and blanch the cheeks of the sleek eunuchs who fawn upon female voters with sweet nothings about the impossibility of war. If France can yet produce *men*, why not the United States?

REVILO OLIVER

An Air-Age Ago

They Fought for the Sky, by Quentin Reynolds. 304 pp. New York: Rinehart and Company. \$3.95

Although the author feels this to be no more than a "cursory story of aerial fighting in World War I," I think it is a good deal more than that. Unlike his "quickie" war books, this is a work of historical worth.

There is a good summary of early air-power theory, from Giulio Douhet to Billy Mitchell (but perhaps a little too much day-to-day detail on the careers of "aces"). The going for these pioneer airmen was tougher than anything in modern warfare until Japan's "Kamikazes." Our pilots flew French rejects, Nieuports that shed their wings in a dive, and Spads that would spin like a coin. There was no such thing as a limit on the number of missions; no combat fatigue; no compassionate leave. They just had to fly until they were shot down, or until the end of the war, whichever happened first (generally the former). Allied pilots lacked the luxury of parachutes (the German balloon personnel had them). The wood-and-fabric box kites that they flew could burn up in sixty seconds.

Exceptionable is the author's hatred of Baron Manfred von Richthofen, the top ace (80 victories) on either side. He scorns Richthofen as a "calculating killer," which no doubt he was. But so were many other of the leading pilots, including the Irish-English ace, Mick Mannock, whom Reynolds praises to the skies for his compulsion to kill Germans.

MONTGOMERY M. GREEN

Had Wonderful Time

The Labyrinth: Memoirs of Walter Schellenberg. Translated by Louis Hagen. 423 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$4.95

The supersonic inferno of Nazi power, with *Gauleiters* and *Gruppenfuhrers* strutting before a decaying god, is no more; and from such survivors as write books about it, we expect a *mea culpa*. We do not get one from the late Walter Schellenberg, Hitler's onetime chief of Foreign Intelligence at thirty-five and one of Himmler's brightest young men. Schellenberg enjoyed it all. He writes not to alibi but to reconstruct what, to him, were the good old days.

For exactly this reason, he has produced memoirs of real historical interest. Not for accuracy, to be sure; for he undoubtedly exaggerates his own power and importance. But for the mood he recaptures, and the intimate portraits of the Heydrichs and Muellers, this is a rich source book.

The book is filled with the elaborate deceptions, the unbelievable technical feats, and the fantastic and oftentimes comic schemes of top-level espionage. Agents, when apprehended, "double" and work faithfully for the enemies of their nation; radios fitted into cigar boxes evade direction-finders by transmitting long messages in three-fifths of a second; Schellenberg leaves his desk to attempt the assassination of ex-Nazi Otto Strasser in Lisbon, carrying with him a bacteriological potion he fears to use; Hitler orders the kidnapping of the Duke of Windsor, thinking him sufficiently disaffected to aid Germany; and Ribbentrop offers to meet Stalin in order to kill him with a fountain-pen pistol.

Schellenberg puts a new light on the Tukhachevsky Affair. He claims it was Heydrich who discovered the plot to overthrow Stalin and tipped him off through Benes, merely to allow the SS to embarrass the Reichswehr from which the Soviet plotters sought aid. He also indicates that the Nazis had much more trouble from their Japanese allies than is commonly known (including Japanese attempts to play off Soviet Russia against Germany). And German feelers for a compromise peace, largely hushed up by the recipients, receive an apparently authentic review.

J. P. MCFADDEN

To the Editor

Must This Carthage Fall?

Reading your editorial titled "Verdict on Hungary" [July 6] and agreeing wholly with the essence of your *jeu d'esprit*, voicing in imagined statements the mental and moral sterility of some of our national leaders, I cannot help comparing America's position today to that of Carthage before the Punic Wars. In international affairs we display frog-vision and hare-courage. Thus our views are distorted and our life and death challenges go unanswered.

Strangely enough, Cato's voice resounds now in the Soviet camp: Carthage must be destroyed. This embarrassing proposition we meet with an almost psychopathic fear of the tyrants and the paranoia of cooperation with faithless and worthless gangsters. One bitterly asks, shall freedom die around the world and one day here, in America, because our leaders are diehard compromisers with evil . . . ?

Houston, Texas

D. FRANKS

Parochial Schools

As a Lutheran seminarian, may I commend and identify myself with your July 20 editorial, "Overhasty Minister." It is regrettable that Mr. Little and others like him are in a position to influence their respective communions.

Such views on parochial schools are as repugnant to most American Lutherans—who maintain a system of some 1,800 schools with close to 200,000 pupils—as they are to our Roman Catholic brethren. It is to be hoped that the thought of the "little" men of America may be clarified on this issue, and that they may come to realize that Christians can never affirm that the State has the primary right to the education of its citizens and their children.

Brooklyn, N.Y.

BROOKE WALKER

Your paragraphs on Roman Catholic parochial schools under the title "Overhasty Minister" overlook the central threat to public education.

To wit: when Roman Catholics secure a majority on any given local Board of Education, a decline in public education almost always results.

Most Roman Catholics already support their own parochial system and, understandably, do not like being taxed for a second—unused—public system of education. This is the threat Protestant readers of *NATIONAL REVIEW* see in the increasing power of Roman Catholic parochial schools. . . .

New York City

WM. H. VON BREKLE

America's Achilles Heel

I am writing to compliment William Henry Chamberlin [July 13] on pointing up the gaping wound in the side of this land of plenty. It is my hope that you will enlarge on his basic theme from as many angles as you may contrive since, to my mind, he has hit our Achilles heel. The work to be done in this area of journalism is vast. You have the type of writers to really handle this topic.

Los Angeles, Cal.

D. E. SEELEY

. . . I thoroughly enjoy your weekly journal of opinion, particularly Mr. William Henry Chamberlin's article, "America's Wasting Asset: Character."

New York City

JOHN C. O'BRIEN

William Henry Chamberlin's article seems to me to indicate, with all too shocking clarity, the basic causes for the jump in both adult crime and juvenile delinquency. Here, in my opinion, is an excellent opportunity for any one of the many tax-free foundations to disprove their critics by reproducing this excellent article and disseminating it widely. . . .

KENNETH D. ROBERTSON, JR.

Boston, Mass.

A Liberal Liberal

This is a letter of thanks from one who formerly considered himself a safe, sane, 100 per cent Liberal. Now, after having read your magazine since its inception, I'm not so sure. . . . Russell Kirk's column is first-rate.

New York City

JACQUES HERBERT, JR.

Forrest Davis on the Court

Forrest Davis, in writing "The Court Reaches for Total Power" [July 6], and *NATIONAL REVIEW* in publishing it have made an inestimably valuable contribution to the preservation of our republican institutions. . . .

I dare to hope that the article will inspire and rally men, and organizations, all over the nation to take action which will persuade Congress to reassert its constitutional functions in such unmistakable terms that no future Supreme Court will have the arrogant audacity to set itself beyond and above the Constitution which created it.

. . . Moreover, unless Congress promptly exercises its power, it must share with the Court its guilt. . . .

Mill Valley, Cal.

DAVID WARREN HYDER

The Right Choice

A few years ago we picked out Spring Hill College in Mobile as a good place to send our son. We have had no doubts since that our choice was a wise one, but if we had had, the address of graduate Patrick F. Harte (quoted at length in your July 13 number) would have banished them.

Wyncote, Pa.

MARY LEWIS COAKLEY

Readers to the Rescue

Reader Elliott [letter, July 13] should adjust his shoulder straps; his id is showing. Mr. Schlamm must have been complimented. Not everyone could earn such abuse so intemperately phrased and so patently uninformed. Henry Adams had best wait another century. One such letter would be evidence enough that life among the carnivores is still impossible without shuddering.

ROBERT J. NEEDLES, M.D.

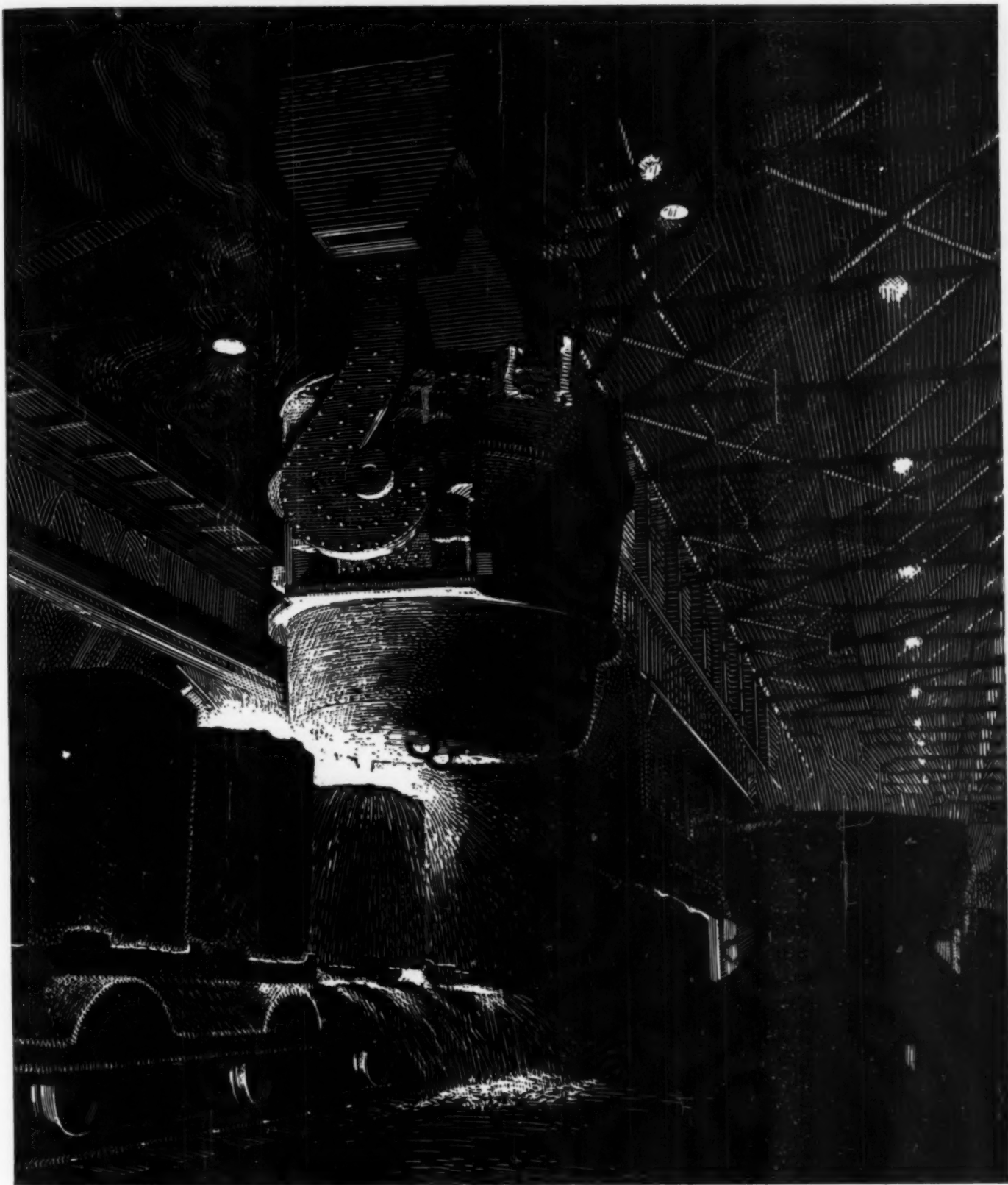
St. Petersburg, Florida

Anent Richard G. Elliott's examples of the big lie and half truth, bilge, nonsense, pretentious trivia, and vicious innuendo, it seems to me he hath eyes that see not, ears that hear not, and brains that think not.

To himself, such a man is always right when he is wrong; and, to him, such as I will forever remain the big liars and the fools, even when the long history of the world has proved him wrong, over and over, again and again!

Harvey, Ill.

PAUL G. BITTMAR



Teeming Ingots at J&L's Pittsburgh Works

Jones & Laughlin

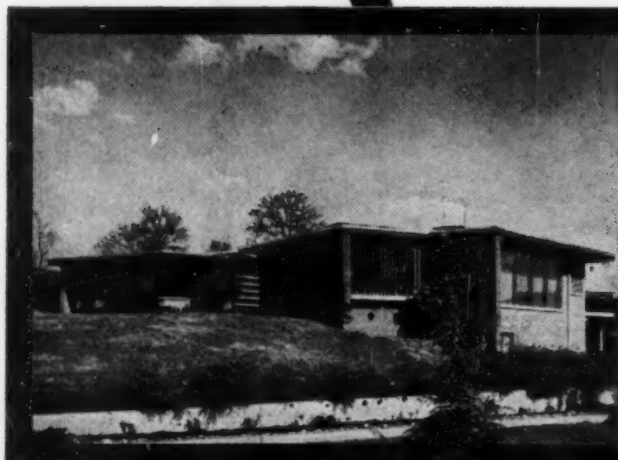
STEEL CORPORATION • PITTSBURGH



THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING...



Farley L. Berman, owner of Berman's Department Store in Anniston, Alabama, likes to have confidence in the merchandise he offers his customers. He put MILIUM insulated drapery linings "to the test" by installing them in his own ultra-modern home. He discovered that the extraordinary performance of MILIUM drapery linings more than measured up to the many other revolutionary conveniences for which his home is famous.



HERE ARE SOME OF THE RESULTS:

SAVINGS IN HEATING & AIR CONDITIONING COSTS. Heat engineering experts estimated an 11 ton heat pump would be required to heat and cool Mr. Berman's home. Mr. Berman installed a 6.6 ton and a 4.4 ton heat pump. With the use of MILIUM lined draperies . . . he has been able to heat and cool the house using only the 4.4 ton heat pump.

SAVINGS IN THE COST OF ELECTRICITY. The Alabama Power Company (using the standard method of calculating by degree days) estimated what the cost of electricity would be for heating the Berman house during the November-December 1956 period. This estimate proved to be 36% more than the actual costs — thanks to the MILIUM lined draperies.

With MILIUM insulated drapery linings you, too, can obtain the extra comfort and extra savings that Mr. Berman realized. Add beauty via the better draping qualities and the wide range of colors that are available. Increase the life of your draperies . . . virtually eliminate drapery fading.



Milium insulated drapery linings...BY TEST*

- In cold weather, reduce room temperature loss by about 50%.
- In hot weather, reduce room temperature gain by about 50%.
- Virtually eliminate drapery fading.

*The above statements have been approved and authorized by the United States Testing Company.

Milium®

INSULATED LINING FOR
ALL-WEATHER COMFORT

Look for Milium Insulated Fabrics in all types of apparel for the entire family and in many other products for your home.
MILIUM DIVISION, Deering, Milliken & Co., Inc., 1430 Broadway, New York 18, N. Y.

© MILIUM is the registered trade-mark of Deering, Milliken & Co., Inc. for metal-insulating fabrics and for its service of metal-insulating fabrics.